

Manuscripts

Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.II.10 (s. xii^{ex})
Cambridge, University Library MS EE.II.3 (s. xiiⁱⁿ)
Dublin, Trinity College MS 98 (formerly B.3.6) (s. xiiⁱⁿ)
London, British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.iii (s. xiiⁱⁿ)
London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius B.viii (s. xii^{ex})
Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS C.400 (s. xivⁱⁿ)
Oxford, Magdalen College MS 226 (s. xii^{ex})

Royal Ordo from the Romano-Germanic Pontifical (c.950)

Alternative names: Ottonian Ordo, Mainz Ordo

Edition

Vogel & Elze, *Le pontifical romano-germanique*, I: 246-69.

Manuscript summary

Texts that can be considered as belonging to the PRG tradition are to be found in around fifty manuscripts.

Royal Ordo from Cologne Dombibliothek MS 141 (1000-1050)

Alternative names: Ordo of Arras

Edition

Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, I, 201-16.

Manuscript summary

There are two surviving manuscripts, one from the first half of the eleventh century, and one from the fourteenth century.

Ratold Ordo (c.980)

Alternative names: Continental version of the English Second Recension, Fulrad Ordo

Edition

Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, I, 168-200.

Manuscript summary

There are twenty surviving manuscripts. The earliest dates from c.980 and was copied for Ratold, abbot of Corbie, from whom the *ordo* got its name. One eleventh-century manuscript survives, seven from the twelfth century, a further seven from the thirteenth century, one from the fourteenth century and three from the seventeenth century.

Ordo of Saint-Bertin (c.1150-1200)

Alternative names: Ordo of Senlis

Edition

Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, I, 240-7.

Manuscript summary

Two manuscripts survive, one from the mid- or late-twelfth century and one from the mid-fourteenth century.

Ordo of 1200 (c.1200)

Alternative names: Compilation of 1200

Edition

Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, I, 248-67.

Manuscript summary

Two thirteenth-century manuscripts of this *ordo* survive, one from the early part of the century and one from the middle.

Imperial Ordo from Cologne Dombibliothek MS 141 (1000-1050)

Alternative names: Ordo of Arras

Edition

Elze, *Die Ordines*, 20-2.

Manuscript summary

There are two surviving manuscripts, one from the first half of the eleventh century and one from the fourteenth century.

Cencius I (c.1100)

Edition

Elze, *Die Ordines*, 22-5.

Manuscript summary

There are ten surviving manuscripts dating from the late-eleventh to the late-thirteenth centuries.

Cencius II (c.1100-1150)

Alternative names: Ordo C, Ordo Ia

Edition

Elze, *Die Ordines*, 35-47.

bureaucracy that is twenty-first century Britain: although the Christomimetic allusion was probably lost on most of his future subjects, in October 2013, Prince George was baptized with water from the River Jordan.

Lazy periodization and the adherence of much of modern scholarship on medieval kingship to overarching teleological narratives of modernization and secularization has led to the privileging of the demise of sacral kingship as an explanatory factor. As Jens Engels pointed out, the imprecision with which scholars use the term 'sacral kingship' tends to a re-mystification of monarchy.⁴³ Rather than seeing Canossa, law and bureaucracy as signalling the 'disenchantment' of the world, we need to demystify modern scholarly approaches to high medieval kingship. As this study has made explicit, liturgies for inauguration, composed in the Carolingian age and reinterpreted through the centuries, continued to shape concepts of kingship in the high Middle Ages. Liturgies and their interpretation did not remain static. However, liturgy did remain at the heart of the performance of monarchical power in rituals that shaped the political communities of the three realms. When chanters in England, France and the Empire uttered the words 'Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat', it was with the conviction that the monarchs they were lauding ruled in the image of Christ the King.

Appendix 1: Editions and Manuscripts of the Selected *Ordines*

The purpose of this appendix is to enable the reader swiftly to find the full texts of the *ordines* referenced in this book and to give an idea of the number of surviving manuscripts. As no critical edition of the English *ordines* exists, all printed works containing readings of individual manuscripts are given and the manuscripts containing witnesses to the English *ordines* are also given in full. As the French, German and imperial *ordines* have all been edited in relatively modern critical editions, only the edition cited in the book and a summary of surviving manuscripts has been included in this appendix. Full details of surviving manuscripts and previous editions of the texts can be found in the relevant critical editions.

English Second Recension (late tenth century)

Alternative names: The Edgar Ordo

Editions

1. L. G. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records* (London, 1901), 15-21.
2. V. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Étude et description*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937), II, 160-4.
3. H. A. Wilson, *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, HBS 24 (London, 1903), 140-7.
4. D. H. Turner, *The Claudius Pontificals*, HBS 97 (London, 1971), 89-95.

Manuscripts

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 146 (s. x^{ex})
Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 67 (s. xii)
London, British Library, Additional MS 57337 (s. x^{ex}/s. xiⁱⁿ)
London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A.iii (s. x^{ex}/s. xiⁱⁿ)
London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius A.vii (s. x^{med})
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 943 (s. x^{ex})
Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 369 (s. x^{ex})

English Third Recension (twelfth century)

Editions

1. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 30-9.
2. Turner, *The Claudius Pontificals*, 115-22.
3. H. A. Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, HBS 39 (London, 1910), 89-95.

⁴³ Engels, 'Das "Wesen" der Monarchie?', p. 4.

Manuscript summary

There is one surviving late-twelfth-century manuscript and ten copies from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Staufen Ordo (late 1100s)

Alternative names: Ordo of 1209, Ordo D (previously considered to be the same as *The Ordo from the Roman Curia*)

Edition

Elze, *Die Ordines*, 61-69

Manuscript summary

There are seven surviving witnesses of this text. Only one survives in a conventional liturgical manuscript, dating from the fourteenth century. The remaining texts are to be found in papal registers and royal and imperial *bullae* and charters, also dating from the fourteenth century.

The Ordo from the Roman Curia (early 1200s)

Alternative names: Ordo of 1209, Ordo D (previously considered to be the same as *the Staufen Ordo*)

Edition

R. Elze, *Die Ordines*, 69-87.

Manuscript summary

This *ordo* was included in the thirteenth-century *Pontifical of the Roman Curia*, that survives in around twenty-four thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts. The *ordo* can also be found in around another twenty manuscript copies of the curial book of ceremonies from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Appendix 2: Prayer Formulae Incipits

Male inauguration prayers (K)

- K1 Te invocamus domine sancte pater omnipotens aeternae deus
- K2 Deus qui populis tuis virtute consulis et amore dominaris
- K3 In diebus tuis oriatur omnibus aequitas et iustitia
- K4 Omnipotens sempiternae deus creator ac gubernator caeli et terrae
- K5 Christe perunge hunc regem in regimen unde unxisti sacerdotes reges
- K6 Deus electorum fortitudo et humilium celsitudo
- K7 Deus dei filius ihesus christus dominus noster
- K8 Accipe anulum signaculum videlicet sanctae fidei
- K9 Deus cuius est omnis potestas et dignitas
- K10 Accipe hunc gladium cum dei benedictione tibi conlatum
- K11 Deus qui providentia tua caelestia simul et terrena moderaris
- K12 Coronet te deus corona glorie atque iustitiae
- K13 Deus perpetuitatis dux virtutem cunctorum hostium victor
- K14 Accipe sceptrum regiae potestatis insigne virgam scilicet rectam regni
- K15 Omnium domine fons bonorum cunctorumque deus institutor profectuum
- K16 Accipe virgam virtutis atque aequitatis qua intellegas mulcere pios
- K17 Extendat omnipotens dominus dexteram suae benedictionis
- K18 Benedic domine hunc praelectum principem
- K19 Sta et retine amodo statum quem huc usque paterna suggestionem tenuisti
- K20 Omnipotens det tibi deus de rore caeli et de pinguedine terrae
- K21 Benedic domine fortitudinem principis et opera manuum illius suscipe
- K22 Benedic domine hunc regem nostrum N. qui regna omnium moderaris
- K23 Deus ineffabilis auctor mundi conditor generis humani
- K24 Unguantur manus istae de oleo sanctificato unde uncti fuerunt reges
- K25 Prospice omnipotens deus serenis optutibus hunc gloriosum regem
- K26 Deus qui es iustorum gloria et misericordia peccatorum

- K27 Accipe gladium per manus episcoporum licet indignas
 K28 Accipe armillas sinceritatis et sapientiae
 K29 Accipe pallium quattuor initiis formatum
 K30 Deus tuorum corona fidelium qui in capitibus eorum ponis coronam
 K31 Accipe regiae dignatis anulum et per hunc in te catholicae fidei signaculum
 K32 Benedicat tibi deus custodiatque te
 K33 Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui famulum tuum regni fastigio
 K34 Deus qui scis genus humanum nulla virtute posse subsistere
 K35 Omnipotens sempiterne deus caelestium terrestriumque moderator
 K36 Spiritus sancti gratia humilitatis nostrae officio
 K37 Accipe coronam regni quae licet ab indignis episcoporum
 K38 Exaudi quesumus domine preces nostras
 K39 Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui es cunctorum benedictio
 K40 Deus in cuius manu corda regum sunt da famulo tuo
 K41 Unde unxisti sacerdotes reges et prophetas quatinus iustitiam diligens
 K42 Domine deus omnipotens cuius est omnis potestas
 K43 Accipe signum gloriae, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti
 K44 Deus in cuius manu corda sunt regum inclina at preces humilitatis nostre
 K45 Salvum fac servum tuum domine
 K46 Actiones nostras quesumus domine aspirando preveni
 K47 Accipe gladium ad vindictam malefactorum
 K48 Pretende quesumus, domine, famulo tuo dextram celestis auxilii
 K49 Benedic domine quesumus hunc principem nostrum N.
 K50 Deus pater eterne glorie sit adiutor tuus et protector

Female inauguration prayers (Q)

- Q1 Omnipotens sempiterne deus affluentem spiritum tuae benedictionis
 Q2 Accipe anulum fidei signaculum sanctae trinitatis
 Q3 Deus cuius est omnis potestas et dignitas da famulae tuae N.
 Q4 Accipe coronam gloriae honorem iocunditatis splendida ut fulgeas
 Q5 Omnium domine fons bonorum et cunctorum dator profectuum
 Q6 Omnipotens sempiterne deus fons et origo totius bonitatis
 Q7 Deus qui solus habes immortalitatem lucemque habitas inaccessibilem

- Q8 Spiritus sancti gratia humilitatis nostrae officio in te copiosa descendat
 Q9 Deus tuorum corona fidelium qui in capitibus eorum ponis coronam
 Q10 Officio indignitatis nostrae seu congregationis in reginam benedicta
 Q11 Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris
 Q12 Deus tuorum corona fidelium qui quos ad regnum vocas
 Q13 Accipe coronam regalis excellentie, que licet ab indignis episcoporum

Prayers from the mass (M)

- M1 Quesumus omnipotens deus ut famulus tuus
 M2 Munera domine quesumus oblata santifica
 M3 Vere dignum aeternae deus qui es fons inmarcescibilis lucis
 M4 Haec domine oration salutaris famulum tuum N.
 M5 Omnipotens sempiterne deus caelestium terrestriumque moderator
 M6 Deus qui miro ordine universa disponis et ineffabiliter gubernas
 M7 Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus his salutaribus sacrificiis placatus
 M8 Omnipotens deus qui te populi sui voluit esse rectorem
 M9 Haec domine salutaris sacrificii perceptio famuli tui N.
 M10 Benedicat tibi dominus custodiatque te et sicut voluit
 M11 Deus cuius regnum regnum est omnium seculorum
 M12 Sacrificiis domine placatus oblati pacem tuam
 M13 Deus qui est diligentibus te facis cuncta prodesse
 M14 Deus regnorum omnium et christiani maxime protector imperii
 M15 Suscipe domine preces et hostias ecclesie tue
 M16 Deus qui ad predicandum eterni regni evangelium romanum imperium

Appendix 3: Tables of Ritual Elements in the Ordines

This appendix comprises six tables laying out the order of the rituals that together made up the inauguration rite in the different *ordines*. The royal *ordines* are presented side-by-side for ease of comparison. This manner of presentation is not possible for the more detailed imperial liturgies, which are presented individually.

Ritual Elements in the Royal Ordines I

<i>English Second</i>	<i>English Third</i>	<i>PRG</i>	<i>Cologne 141</i>
King 1. entry to church 2. prostration before altar 3. oath 4. anointing 5. ring 6. sword 7. crowning 8. sceptre 9. virga 10. blessing 11. designation	King 1. entry to church 2. prostration before altar 3. oath 4. acclamation 5. anointing 6. sword 7. armillas 8. pallium 9. crowning 10. ring 11. sceptre 12. virga 13. blessing 14. kiss of peace 15. enthronement	King 1. procession from bedchamber to church 2. removal of pallium and weapons 3. prostration before altar 4. interrogation/promise 5. acclamation 6. anointing 7. sword 8. armillas, pallium and ring 9. sceptre and baculum 10. crowning 11. blessing 12. enthronement 13. kiss of peace	King 1. procession from bedchamber to church 2. regalia placed before altar 3. interrogation/promise 4. congregation asked if they accept king 5. prostration before altar 6. anointing 7. ring 8. sword 9. crowning 10. sceptre 11. virga 12. blessing 13. enthronement 14. oath (read by archbishop) 15. kiss of peace
Queen 1. anointing 2. ring 3. crowning	Queen 1. blessing 2. anointing 3. ring 4. crowning	Mass Queen 1. entry to church 2. blessing 3. anointing 4. crowning	<i>Cologne 141 (continued)</i> Queen 1. entry to church 2. prostration before altar 3. anointing 4. ring 5. crowning
Mass			Mass Imperial (see p. 235)

Ritual Elements in the Earlier Imperial Ordines

Ritual Elements in the Royal Ordines II

Ratold Ordo

King

1. interrogation/oath
2. congregation asked if they accept king
3. prostration before altar
4. promise (in 4 MSS)
5. invocation
6. anointing
7. ring
8. sword
9. crowning
10. sceptre
11. virga
12. blessing
13. designation
14. enthronement
15. promise (in 18 MSS)
16. kiss of peace

Mass

Queen

1. entry to church
2. prostration before altar
3. anointing (continued in next column)

Ordo of Saint-Bertin

King

1. procession from bedchamber to church
2. removal of pallium
3. prostration before altar
4. interrogation/promise
5. congregation asked if they accept king
6. anointing
7. sword
8. ring
9. sceptre
10. banner
11. crowning
12. blessing
13. enthronement
14. kiss of peace

Mass

Ratold Ordo (continued)

Queen

4. ring
5. crowning
6. sceptre (in 1 MS)

Ordo of 1200

King

1. procession from bedchamber to church
2. removal of pallium and weapons
3. prostration before altar
4. interrogation
5. congregation asked if they accept king
6. anointing
7. sword
8. armillas, pallium and ring
9. sceptre and baculum
10. crowning
11. blessing
12. enthronement
13. promise
14. kiss of peace

Mass

Queen

1. entry to church
2. blessing before altar
3. anointing
4. crowning
5. mass

Cologne 141

Emperor

1. procession
2. promise
3. prostration
4. anointing
5. crowning

Cencius I

Emperor

1. promise
2. prostration
3. anointing
4. crowning

Ritual Elements in the Ordo Cencius II

Emperor and Empress (integrated with a mass)

1. received by dignitaries at Church of S. Maria Transpadina
2. elect meets pope before bronze doors of S. Maria della Torre
3. kissing of pope's feet
4. withdrawal of queen
5. promise
6. removal of pallium
7. questioning and kisses
8. elect enters S. Pietro
9. queen rejoins husband
10. pope enters S. Pietro
11. blessing
12. interrogation
13. pope dresses in his pontifical garments in the *secretarium*
14. elect led to choir of St. Gregory and dressed in liturgical robes
15. elect led before pope
16. queen fetched by bishop of Ostia and led to altar of St. Gregory
17. pope clothed in planeta and pallium ascends to the altar
18. prostration before altar of elect and queen
19. anointing of elect
20. blessing of queen
21. anointing of queen
22. pope proceeds to altar of St. Maurice followed by elect and queen

23. crowns moved from altar of St. Peter to altar of St. Maurice
24. ring
25. sword
26. crowning of elect
27. crowning of queen
28. sceptre
29. mass
30. count of palace removes emperor's liturgical footwear and gives him spurs
31. emperor and empress, wearing crowns, led to horses
32. emperor holds stirrup for pope
33. procession with emperor and empress followed by crowned pope
34. on arrival at palace emperor holds stirrup as pope dismounts
35. feasts (empress eats separately with some of the bishops and barons)
36. emperor swears Roman oath on Monte Mario, at the Porta Collina and before the steps of S. Pietro

Ritual Elements in the Staufen Ordo

Emperor (integrated with a mass)

1. procession with dignitaries from Porta Collina to S. Pietro
2. elect dismounts at steps
3. pope emerges from *secretarium*
4. kissing of pope's feet and offering of gifts
5. entry to S. Maria della Torre
6. elect swears oath before altar
7. pope goes to altar of St. Peter
8. elect remains in S. Maria with three bishops and is clothed with imperial insignia
9. elect enters S. Pietro
10. prostration before altar of St. Peter
11. elect proceeds to altar of St. Maurice
12. anointing
13. elect ascends to altar of St. Peter and receives kiss from the pope
14. emperor proceeds to chamber fashioned from wood
15. mass
16. emperor processes to altar
17. crowning
18. orb and sceptre
19. sword
20. emperor returns to wooden chamber
21. emperor takes off crown and cloak
22. kiss of peace
23. emperor holds stirrup for pope

24. horseback procession to S. Maria Transpadina
25. kiss
26. emperor descends Monte Mario and swears Roman oath

Empress (if present her inauguration follows the emperor's coronation)

1. led to altar before pope
2. crowning
3. return to chamber

Ritual Elements in the Ordo of the Roman Curia

Emperor (integrated with a mass)

1. procession with dignitaries from Porta Collina to S. Pietro
2. elect dismounts at steps
3. pope emerges from private chapel
4. kissing of pope's feet and offering of gifts
5. elect receives a kiss and embrace
6. entry to S. Maria della Torre
7. elect swears oath before altar
8. pope goes to altar of St. Peter
9. elect remains in S. Maria with three bishops and is clothed with insignia
10. elect enters S. Pietro
11. prostration before altar of St. Peter
12. elect proceeds to altar of St. Maurice
13. anointing
14. elect ascends to altar of St. Peter and receives kiss from the pope
15. emperor proceeds to chamber fashioned from wood
16. mass
17. emperor processes to altar
18. crowning
19. sceptre and orb
20. blessing
21. sword*
22. kissing of pope's feet
23. emperor returns to wooden chamber
24. emperor takes off crown and cloak
25. offering of gold to pope
26. kiss of peace
27. emperor holds stirrup for pope
28. horseback procession to S. Maria Transpadina
29. kiss
30. emperor descends Monte Mario and swears Roman oath

Empress (if present her inauguration follows the emperor's coronation)

1. led to altar before pope
2. blessing
3. anointing
4. crowning
5. return to chamber

* An interpolation relates that in some books it is written that the sword should be given before the coronation. The coronation and bestowal of the sceptre and orb are then repeated.

Appendix 4: Brief Descriptions of Royal and Imperial Seals and *Bullae*

The function of this appendix is to provide the reader with brief descriptions of the iconography and inscriptions of royal and imperial seals and *bullae* from the period c.1050-c.1250 and to point them to the relevant catalogues or literature where fuller descriptions and often reproductions of these seals can be found. As charters and seals have yet to be subject to the kind of digitisation projects that are now commonplace for manuscripts, few of the seals in this appendix can be seen online. A handful of the seals described below have been digitised and when a seal (or its matrix) is available online a link is provided.

References are made to the following catalogues:

- Birch, W. de G., *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (London, 1887).
- Dalas, M. *Les sceaux des rois et de régence*, CdS 2 (Paris, 1980).
- Heslop, T.A. 'Seals' in *English Romanesque Art, 1066-1200*, ed., G. Zarnecki, J. Holt and T. Holland (London, 1984), 298-320.
- Kahsnitz, R. 'Siegel und Goldbullen' in *Die Zeit der Staufer*, ed., R. Haussherr and C. Väterlein, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1977), IV, 17-108.
- Nielen, M.-A. *Les sceaux des reines et des enfants de France*, CdS 3 (Paris, 2011).
- Posse, O. *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751 bis 1806*, 5 vols. (Dresden, 1909-13).
- Stieldorf, A., 'Die Siegel der Herrscherinnen - Siegelführung und Siegelbild der "deutschen" Kaiserinnen und Königinnen', *Rheinische Vierteljahrbblätter* 64 (2000), 1-44.
- Wyon, A. B. *The Great Seals of England* (London, 1887).

If a number is given below, it refers to a catalogue entry rather than a page number. In Posse's catalogue of German seals the seals are not numbered sequentially throughout the catalogue. Instead Posse numbers the seals of each monarch individually. When reference is made to secondary literature other than the catalogues listed above, the bibliographic reference is accompanied by a page number.

Where seals are grouped together this is not to imply that they are identical, but that the iconography is broadly similar. For the differences between these seals the reader is referred to the relevant catalogues. R and L are used to refer to the hands of the monarchs depicted on the seal, rather than to sides of the seal itself. Unless otherwise specified, all seals are circular.

Edward the Confessor

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb (L) and ? (R)
reverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and sword (L)
inscription: + SIGILLUM EADWARDI ANGLORUM BASILEI (both sides)
reference: Heslop, 328
online image: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=lfc_ch_xxi_5_f001r [accessed 24 July 2018]

William I

obverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)
reverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + HOC NORMANNORUM WILLELMUM NOSCE PATRONUM SI / + HOC ANGLIS REGEM SIGNO FATEARIS EUNDEM
reference: Harvey and McGuinness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals*, pp. 27-8

William II

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross (L), two roundels in field
reverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)
inscription: + WILLELMUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM (both sides)
reference: Heslop, 329

Henry I (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb with cross and bird (L) and ? (R)
reverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)
inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRACIA REX ANGLORUM (both sides)
reference: Wyon, 19-20

Henry I (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb with cross and bird (L) and ? (R)
reverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)
inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM
reference: Heslop, 330

Henry I (C)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb with cross and bird (L), two stars in field
reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM
reference: Wyon, 23-24

Matilda of Scotland

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a sceptre with bird (R) and orb with cross (L), vesica shape
inscription: + SIGILLUM MATHILDIS SECUNDAE DEI GRACIA REGINAE ANGLIE
reference: Heslop, 336

Adeliza of Louvain

Adeliza re-used Matilda of Scotland's seal with a suitably altered inscription.
reference: Heslop, 336

Stephen (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross and bird (L)
reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)
inscription: + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM
reference: Heslop, 331

Stephen (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb (L)
reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)
inscription: + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM
reference: Heslop, 332

Stephen (C)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross and bird (L), one star in field
reverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)
inscription: + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM
reference: Wyon, 27-28

Matilda of Boulogne

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and bird (L), vesica shape
inscription: ... MATILDIS DEI GRATIA
reference: Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power*, p. 203.

Matilda of England

Although the earliest surviving impression of this seal is found in England,

Matilda most probably first used this seal in Germany

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) with hand (L)
in front of body

inscription: + MATHILDIS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REGINA

reference: Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women', p. 18; Stieldorf, 3

Henry II (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with
cross and bird (L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + HENRICUS
DUX NORMANNORUM ET AQUITANORUM ET COMES
ANDEGAVORUM

reference: Wyon, 30-31

Henry II (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with
cross and bird (L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + HENRICUS DUX
NORMANNORUM ET AQUITANORUM ET COMES ANDEGAVORUM
reference: Heslop, 333

Henry the Young King

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (L) and ? (R)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM

reference: Wyon, 34

Eleanor of Aquitaine

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a bird (L) and ? (R), vesica shape

reverse: same image as obverse

inscription: ALIENOR DEI GRACIA REGINE ANGLORUM DUCISSE
NORMAN + / ALIENOR DUCISSE AQUITANORUM ET COMITISSE
ANDEGAVOR +

reference: Nielen, 10

Richard I (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and sceptre
with flower and cross (L), two plants, moons and stars/suns in field (R
and L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat
of arms (L)

inscription: + RICARDUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + RICARDUS DUX
NORMANNORUM ET AQUITANORUM ET COMES ANDEGAVORUM

reference: Heslop, 334

online image: https://www.siv.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/siv/media/Fran_IR_055193/A1_61/Fran-AEIII_2013_02960 [accessed 24 July 2018]

Richard I (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and sceptre with
flower and cross (L), sun and moon in field

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat
of arms (L)

inscription: + RICARDUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + RICARDUS
DUX NORMANNORUM ET AQUITANORUM ET COMES
ANDEGAVORUM

reference: Wyon, 37-38

John

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and sceptre with
flower and cross (L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat
of arms (L)

inscription: + JOHANNES DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS
HIBERNIE / + JOHANNES DUX NORMANNIE ET AQUITANIE ET
COMES ANDEGAVIE

reference: Heslop, 335

online images: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_4838_f001r [accessed 24 July 2018]

http://magnacarta.cmp.uea.ac.uk/read/original_charters/Notification_of_the_King_s_permission_for_the_barons_of_London_to_elect_their_own_mayor [accessed 24 July 2018]

Isabella of Angoulême

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a flower (R) and bird (L), vesica
shape

inscription: ISABELLA DEI GRATIA REGINA ANGLIE DOMINA HIBERNIE

reference: Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women', p. 20

Henry III (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and sceptre with
flower and cross (L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat
of arms (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE

/ + HENRICUS DUX NORMANNIE ET AQUITANIE ET COMES
ANDEGAVIE

reference: Wyon, 41-42

Henry III (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and orb with elongated cross (L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat of arms (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE
/ + HENRICUS DUX NORMANNIE ET AQUITANIE ET COMES
ANDEGAVIE

reference: Wyon, 43-44

online image: https://www.siv.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/siv/media/Fran_IR_055193/A1_3/Fran-AEIII_S302326N00001 [accessed 24 July 2018]

Henry III (C)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and sceptre with flower (L)

reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat of arms (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE
/ + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE DUX
AQUITANNIE

reference: Wyon, 45-46

Eleanor of Provence (A)

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and sceptre with orb and bird (L), seated lion at base, vesica shape

reverse: shield of arms decorated with three lions hanging from tree with three branches

inscription: ALIANORA DEI GRACIA REGINA ANGLIE DOMINA
HYBERNIE / ALIANORA DUCISSA NORMANNIE ET AQUITANIE
COMITISSA ANDEGAVIE

reference: Birch, 791

Eleanor of Provence (B)

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) under a gothic arch, vesica shape

reverse: same as A seal

inscription: ALIANORA DEI GRACIA REGINA ANGLIE / ALIANORA DEI
GRACIA DOMINA HIBERNIE ET DUCISSA AQUITANNIE

reference: Birch, 794

Kings and Queens of France

Henry I

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a virga (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

reference: Dalas, 62

Philip I (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a virga (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

reference: Dalas, 63

Philip I (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a virga (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

reference: Dalas, 64

Bertrada of Montfort

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and bird (L), vesica shape

inscription: SIGILLUM BERTRADE DEI GRACIA FRANCORUM REGINE

reference: Nielen, 5

Louis VI

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a virga (R) and sceptre (L), cross motif in field

inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

reference: Dalas, 66

Adelaide of Maurienne

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (L), this seal is only known from a rough sketch and descriptions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

reference: Nielen, 6

Louis VII

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)

reverse*: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)

inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX / ET DUX
AQUITANORUM*

countersealsx: a fantastical creature or Diana with the inscription

+LUDOVICUS REX

reference: Dalas, 67-69

- * following his divorce from Eleanor of Aquitaine, the king ceased using the ducal title in 1154. The latest imprint of this reverse design dates from 1153.
- × having ceased using the equestrian design on the reverse of his seal, Louis counter-sealed instead

Eleanor of Aquitaine

No surviving seal of Eleanor as Queen of France

reference: Nielen, 10

Constance of Castile

obverse: standing crowned figure holding flowers in both hands, vesica shape

inscription: SIGILLUM REGINE CONSTANCIE

reference: Nielen, 11

Adela of Champagne

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on waist, vesica shape

inscription: + SIGILLUM ADELE DEI GRACIA REGINE FRANCORUM

reference: Nielen, 12

Philip II (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

counterseal: a fleur-de-lys

reference: Dalas, 70

online image: http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/caran_fr?ACTIO N=CHERCHER&FIELD_1=REF&VALUE_1=03776 [accessed 24 July 2018]

Philip II (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

counterseal: a fleur-de-lys

reference: Dalas, 71

Philip II (seal of regency)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

counterseal: an eagle

reference: Dalas, 72

Isabella of Hainault

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L), vesica shape

inscription: +ELIZABEZ DEI GRACIA FRANCORUM REGINA

reference: Nielen, 13

online image (matrix): http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=51057&partId=1&searchText=isabella+of+hainault&page=1 [accessed 24 July 2018]

Ingebourg of Denmark

No seal survives although she is known to have had one

reference: Nielen, 14

Louis VIII

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

counterseal: a shield patterned with fleur-de-lys

reference: Dalas, 75

Blanche of Castile

obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on breast holding cords, six fleurs-de-lys in field, vesica shape

inscription: SIGILLUM BLANCHE DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REGINE

counterseal: a castle between two fleurs-de-lys with the inscription BLACHA FILIA REGIS CASTELLE

reference: Nielen, 15

Louis IX (A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

counterseal: a fleur-de-lys

reference: Dalas, 76

Louis IX (B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)

inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX

counterseal: a fleur-de-lys

reference: Dalas, 77

Louis IX (seal of regency)

obverse: crown within an architectural border

inscription: + S LUDOVICI DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REGIS IN
PARTIBUS TRANSMARINIS AGENTIS
counterseal: a shield patterned with fleurs-de-lys
reference: Dalas, 78

Margaret of Provence

obverse: standing crowned figure within a gothic niche supported by two
columns holding a sceptre with fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on breast
holding cords, vesica shape
inscription: S MARGARETE DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REGINE
counterseal: a fleur-de-lys with the inscription + AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA
reference: Nielsen, 16

Kings and Emperors and Queens and Empresses of Germany

Henry IV (royal seals A-D)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with bird (R) and
orb with cross (L)
inscription: + HEINRICUS REX (A); + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA REX (B-D)
reference: Posse, Heinrich IV., 1-4

Henry IV (imperial seal A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb with cross (R) and
sceptre with flower (L)
inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA TERCIVS ROMANORUM
IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS
reference: Posse, Heinrich IV., 7

Henry IV (imperial seals B&C)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and
orb with cross (L)
inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA III ROMANORUM IMPERATOR
AUGUSTUS
reference: Posse, Heinrich IV., 8-9

Henry IV (royal bullae A&B)

obverse: half figure crowned and facing left holding a sceptre with bird (R)
reverse: city gate with three towers
inscription: + HEINRICUS REX / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI
reference: Posse, Heinrich IV., 6-7

Henry V (royal seal A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and
orb with cross (L)

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA...
reference: Posse, Heinrich V., 1

Henry V (royal seal B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with three prongs
(R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM QUINTUS REX
reference: Gawlik, 'Ein neues Siegel Heinrichs V.', pp. 529-36

Henry V (imperial seals A & B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and
orb with cross (L)
inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IIII IMPERATOR
AUGUSTUS (A); + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA IIII ROMANORUM
IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS (B)
reference: Posse, Heinrich V., 2-3

Matilda of England

Although the earliest surviving impression of this seal is found in England,
Matilda most probably first used this seal in Germany
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) with hand (L)
in front of body
inscription: + MATHILDIS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REGINA
reference: Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women', p. 18; Stieldorf, 3

Lothar III (royal seals A&B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and
orb with cross (L)
inscription: + LOTHARIUS DEI GRATIA TERCIVS ROMANORUM REX
reference: Posse, Lothar III., 1-2

Lothar III (imperial bulla)

obverse: half figure crowned and facing forward holding a sceptre (L) and
encircled by city walls
reverse: five towered building incorporating the legend 'AUREA ROMA'
inscription: + LOTHARIUS DEI GRATIA... / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI
REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Posse, Lothar III., 4

Conrad III (royal seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and
orb with cross (L)
inscription: + CUONRADUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX II
reference: Kahsnitz, 27

Frederick I (royal seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX

reference: Kahsnitz, 28

Frederick I (imperial seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS

reference: Kahsnitz, 30

Frederick I (royal and imperial bullae)

obverse: half figure crowned and facing forward holding a sceptre (R) and orb with cross (L) and encircled by city walls

reverse: the Colosseum inside circular city walls incorporating the legend 'AUREA ROMA'

inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI (inscription altered on imperial bullae to reflect different status)

reference: Kahsnitz, 29 and 31

Beatrix of Burgundy

No seal survives although she is known to have had one

reference: Stieldorf, 4

Henry VI (royal seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with leaves and flower (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX

reference: Kahsnitz, 32

Henry VI (imperial seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L); 'REX SICILIE' added to field following marriage to Constance of Sicily

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATOR ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS

reference: Kahsnitz, 33

Henry VI (imperial bulla)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L)

reverse: the Colosseum inside circular city walls incorporating the legend 'AUREA ROMA'

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI

reference: Kahsnitz, 34

Constance of Sicily

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on breast, vesica shape

inscription: + CONSTANTIA DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATRIX SEMPER AUGUSTUS ET REGINA SICILIE

reference: Stieldorf, 5

Philip of Swabia (royal seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + PHILIPPUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS

reference: Kahsnitz, 35

Irene Maria

Only a fragment of an impression of her seal survives

reference: Stieldorf, 6

Otto IV (royal seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + OTTO DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS

reference: Kahsnitz, 36

Otto IV (imperial seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and orb with cross (L), sun and moon in field

inscription: + DEI GRATIA OTTO ROMANORUM IMPERATOR ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS

reference: Kahsnitz, 39

Otto IV (royal bulla)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L)

reverse: city gate with three towers incorporating the legend 'AUREA ROMA'

inscription: indecipherable / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS
FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Posse, Otto IV., 2

Otto IV (imperial bulla)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L), sun and moon in field
inscription: + DEI GRATIA OTTO ROMANORUM IMPERATOR ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Posse, Otto IV., 4

Maria of Brabant (seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and orb (L), sun and moon in field
inscription: + MARIA DEI GRACIA ROMANORUM IMPERATRIX SEMPER AUGUSTA
reference: Kahsnitz, 41; Stieldorf, 7

Frederick II (royal seal A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L), 'ET REX SICILIE' in field
inscription: + FRIDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS
reference: Kahsnitz, 46

Frederick II (royal seal B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + FRIDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS ET REX SICILIE
reference: Kahsnitz, 48

Frederick II (imperial seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and orb with cross (L), 'REX IERUSALEMIAE' added to field following his coronation as king of Jerusalem
inscription: + FRIDERICUS DEI GRATIA IMPERATOR ROMANORUM ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS
reference: Kahsnitz, 50

Frederick II (royal bulla A)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with fleur-de-lys (R) and orb with cross (L), 'ET REX SICILIE' in field

reverse: large gate tower incorporating the words 'AUREA ROMA' flanked by two smaller towers, small flowers, circles and crosses in field
inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Kahsnitz, 47

Frederick II (royal bulla B)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with leaves and cross (R) and orb with cross (L)
reverse: large gate tower incorporating the words 'AUREA ROMA' flanked by four smaller towers, encircled by city walls
inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Kahsnitz, 49

Frederick II (imperial bulla)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L), 'STUS ET REX SICILIE' in field, Jerusalem added after 1229 coronation
reverse: large gate tower flanked by two smaller towers encircled by city walls that terminated in two further smaller towers
inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGU [STUS] / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Kahsnitz, 51
online image: http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/caran_fr?ACTION=CHERCHER&FIELD_1=REF&VALUE_1=AF-02089 [accessed 24 July 2018]

Constance of Aragon

No impression survives, but the design is recorded in a later description
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre
reverse: mounted figure carrying a harp
inscription: + CONSTANTIA DEI GRATIA REGINA SICILIE, DUCATUS APULIE ET PRINCIPATUS CAPUE / + CONSTANTIA REGINA FILIA ILLUSTRIS REGIS ARAGONENSIIUM
reference: Stieldorf, 8

Henry (VII) (royal seal)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SENPER AUGUSTUS
reference: Kahsnitz, 52

Henry (VII) (royal bulla)

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L)

reverse: large gate tower incorporating the words 'AUREA ROMA' flanked by four smaller towers

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS / ROMA CAPUD MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI

reference: Kahsnitz, 53

Margaret of Austria

obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on breast holding cords

inscription: + MARGARETA DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REGINA ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS

reference: Stieldorf, 10

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